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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 ACDE-00 AECE-00 /153 W
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P R 241350Z JUL 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 370
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 101
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0202

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD
JULY 13-23, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE THIRD ROUND OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FORMALLY ENDED ON JULY 17 WITH EAST AND WEST STILL FAR APART ON MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES OFFERED NO SURPRISES AT EITHER THE INFORMAL MEETING ON JULY 15 OR THE FINAL PLENARY MEETING OF THE ROUND ON JULY 17. AT THE INFORMAL MEETING, THE EASTERN DELEGATES PRESENTED A NEGATIVE CRITIQUE OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS"
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PROPOSAL THAT THE WEST HAD OFFERED ON JULY 10. SOVIET REP

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KHLESTOV OFFERED AN OVERALL REVIEW OF THE THIRD ROUND, CLAIMING THAT THE LACK OF PROGRESS WAS DUE TO THE WEST'S ADHERING TO AN UNREALISTIC POSITION. IN RESPONSE TO THE US REP'S STATEMENT THAT THE WEST WOULD RECONSIDER THE APPLICATION OF ITS DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE EASTERN VIEW REMAINS THAT ALL FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV'S FINAL SUMMING UP AT THE PLENARY SESSION WAS GENERALLY NEGATIVE. AT AN END-OF-THE-ROUND PRESS CONFERENCE ON JULY 17, POLISH REP STRULAK MADE THE STANDARD EASTERN ARGUMENTS ABOUT WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL AD-VANTAGES, STATED THAT THERE ARE VERY SERIOUS DIFFERENCES AND DIFFICULTIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT SAID THAT THE EAST IS NOT DISCOURAGED. STRULAK ASLO MADE A PITCH FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE EAST'S MODIFIED SYMBOLIC, OR INITIAL STEP, REDUCTION PROPOSAL. THE AD HOC GROUP MET THROUGH JULY 23 TO FINISH ITS REPORT TO THE NAC. END SUMMARY.

2. THE JULY 15 INFORMAL: POLISH REP STRULAK, READING FROM A PREPARED TEXT, PRESENTED THE EAST'S NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE ALLIED "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA THAT HAD BEEN PRESENTED AT THE JULY 10 INFORMAL. STRULAK ARGUED THAT: (A) THE WEST HAD NOT REALLY CHANGED ITS POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET BECAUSE IT CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT ONLY US AND SOVIET FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED AT THE OUTSET; (B) THE WESTERN STATES HAD AGREED IN THE JUNE 28, 1973 COMMUNIQUE THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE MUTUAL, AND THE WEST WAS ADVANCING NOTHING NEW BY OFFERING TO CONSIDER MAKING A COMMITMENT TO REDUCE IN A SECOND PHASE; (C) THE WESTERN PROPOSAL IS INSEPARABLY CONNECTED WITH THE WEST'S ENTIRE BASIC POSITION; (D) THE WEST OFFERED TO MAKE THE COMMITMENT TO REDUCE IN A SECOND PHASE ONLY ON THE CON-DITIONS THAT THERE IS A SAFISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT AND THAT THE EAST ACCEPTS THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT; (E) THE COMMITMENT CONCERNS ONLY GROUND FORCE MANPOWER; AND (F) THE COMMITMENT COULD NOT SERVE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR A CLEAR COMMITMENT BY EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT AS TO HOW MANY FORCES IT WOULD REDUCE AND WHEN IT WOULD REDUCE.

3. EAST GERMAN REP OESER AGAIN ATTACKED THE SUMMARY OF
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THE EASTERN POSITION THAT HAD BEEN MADE ON 10 JULY BY AN ALLIED SPOKESMAN (THE NETHERLANDS REP), AGAIN URGED THE WEST TO ACCEPT THE EAST'S INITIAL STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL, AND ONCE MORE CLAIMED THAT THE WEST HAD RENEGED ON ITS ALLEGED AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS THIS CONCEPT.

4. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV PRESENTED A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE THIRD ROUND. HE NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE INFORMAL SESSIONS

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WERE USEFUL AND THAT THE ATMOSPHERE WAS GOOD, THE PARTICI-
PANTS HAD FAILED TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS. KHLESTOV'S
GENERAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT THIS WAS DUE TO THE WEST'S
REFUSING TO AGREE TO REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET AND SEEKING
UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES. KHLESTOV ALSO BRIEFLY REPLIED TO
REMARKS MADE BY THE US REP, WHO TOLD THE EAST THAT THE WEST
IS READY TO RECONSIDER ITS DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WITH
A VIEW TO DEALING WITH SOME OF THE INCONSISTENCIES WHICH
EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD OFTEN MENTIONED. KHLESTOV SAID
HE WELICOMED ALL ATTEMPTS TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DEFINI-
TIONS, BUT ADDED THAT THE WEST IS STILL DISCUSSING ONLY GROUND
FORCES AND THE EAST BELIEVES ALL FORCES MUST BE CONSIDERED.

5. THE JULY 17. PLENARY SESSION: DURING THE PLENARY KHLESTOV,
THE US REP, AND HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN MADE STATEMENTS. KHLESTOV
NOTED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NEARLY NINE MONTHS OLD, AND
THAT THIS IS A LONG TIME EVEN FOR SUCH "COMPLEX AND SERIOUS
NEGOTIATIONS". HE ATTRIBUTED THE LACK OF AGREEMENT TO THE
DIFFERING GOALS OF THE TWO SIDES RATHER THAN TO THE DETAILS OF
THE TWO PROGRAMS. IN GENERAL HE PRESENTED THE STANDARD EASTERN
CIRTICISMS OF THE COMMON CEILING, THE "ARTIFICIAL" WESTERN
CONCEPT OF "DISPARITIES," THE WEST'S STRESS ON REDUCING
GROUND FORCES AND OMISSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, AND
THE REFUSAL OF THE NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE FROM
THE OUTSET. KHLESTOV, REFERRING TO THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS"
FORMULA IN PARTICULAR AND OTHER WESTERN CLARIFICATIONS IN
GENERAL, SAID THAT THE WEST IS OFFERING "NOTHING NEW".
HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN, REPLYING TO THE STATEMENT OF THE
BELGIAN REP MADE AT THE JULY 4 PLENARY, REITERATED BUDAPEST'S
POSITION THAT HUNGARY WILL NOT CHANGE ITS STATUS AS
A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT UNLESS ITALY ALSO CHANGES ITS STATUS
AND BECOMES A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. THE US REP SUMMED UP
THE WEST'S VIEWS ON THE THIRD ROUND.
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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. BILATERAL MEETINGS: IN A MEETING WITH UK DEPREP GOODALL ON 17 JULY, SOVIET DELOFF SHUSTOV EXPLAINED THAT KHLESTOV HAD REFERRED DISPARAGINGLY TO THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" OFFER IN THE PLENARY IN ORDER TO RECORD FORMALLY THE EAST'S REJECTION OF THIS OFFER. SHUSTOV AGREED THAT THE TALKS HAD REACHED SOMETHING OF AN IMPASSE, STATING THAT "WE HAVE NOT YET STARTED TO NEGOTIATE HERE." UK REP ROSE MET WITH ROMANIAN REP ANINIOU ON JULY 16 TO BRIEF HIM ON THE LAST FOUR INFORMAL SESSIONS. ANINIOU STATED AT ONE POINT THAT HE HAD ALWAYS HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT A TWO-PHASED REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY FORWARD, AND SAID SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE IF THE WEST GIVES CLEARER DETAILS OF THE TIME
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OF REDUCTIONS. (ANINIOU'S JUDGMENTS ON WHAT THE EAST WILL AND WILL NOT ACCEPT MUST ALWAYS BE REGARDED WITH SOME SKEPTICISM.)

7. ON JULY 17 KHLESTOV AND SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY TOLD THE US REP AND DEPREP THAT THEY WERE EXTREMEMLY IRRITATED BY A DISPATCH WRITTEN BY REUTERS CORRESPONDENT SIDNEY WEILAND THAT CONTAINED INFORMATION CONCERNING AN INFORMAL MEETING. THE US DEPREP LATER INFORMED THE AD HOC GROUP THAT THE

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WEILAND DISPATCH HAD REFERRED TO A NATO SOURCE, AND SAID
THAT INTERNAL EVIDENCE INDICATED THAT IT COULD ONLY HAVE
BEEN TAKEN FROM A WESTERN ACCOUNT OF NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES'
SUMMARY OF EASTERN AND WESTERN POSITIONS DURING THE JULY 10
INFORMAL. THE US DEPREP WARNED THAT LEAKS SUCH AS THIS ONE
ARE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS, AND URGED THAT ALL WESTERN DELEGATES
TAKE CARE WHEN MEETING WITH THE PRESS.

8. AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES: THE AHG MET SEVERAL TIME TO
DISCUSS THE INFORMAL SESSION AND A TWO-PART REPORT TO THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. THE FIRST PART OF THE REPORT, DRAFTED
BY THE US DEL, WAS APPROVED ON 19 JULY. THE SECOND PART,
DRAFTED BY THE UK DEL, ASKED THE NAC FOR GUIDANCE ON VARIOUS
QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME, THE NO-INCREASE
COMMITMENT, THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA, DEFINITIONS OF GROUND
FORCES, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN
A REDUCTION PACKAGE. THAT PART OF THE REPORT WAS APPROVED ON
JULY 23. BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN WILL DELIVER THE AHG'S
REPORT TO THE NAC ON JULY 26.

9. COMMENT: THE THIRD ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA
TOOK PLACE DURING A PERIOD IN WHICH THERE WERE MAJOR CHANGES IN
WESTERN EUROPE AND MUCH UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE
BOTH IN EUROPE AND THE US. THE ROUND BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER
WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT WAS FORCED BY CIRCUMSTANCES
TO RESIGN; IT ENDED WITH GREEKS AND TURKS SQUARING OFF AGAINST
ONE ANOTHER. IN ADDITION, THE SOVIET UNION'S FAVORED PROJECT, THE
EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE IN GENEVA, DID NOT PROGRESS AS
MOSCOW WISHED, AND EASTERN DELEGATES, INCLUDING SOVIET DEPREP
SMIRNOVSKY, ADMITTED THAT LITTLE COULD BE DONE IN VIENNA UNTIL
THE CSCE WENT ACCORDING TO SOVIET WISHES. GIVEN THESE CIRCUM-
STANCES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THERE WAS A LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE
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PROGRESS IN THIS ROUND OF THE MBFR TALKS.RESOR

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